7: Joest--61 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosans
116, 175, 721

Often several tribes form an alliance against a common enemy, especially against the Chinese.

These feuds often result in bloody battles. In 1874-75 the Chinese sent an expedition of 9,000 men of which 2,000 were killed; many of the victims, however, died from the effects of the climate.

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 ADI Formosa ADI

corrected, the standardized death rate of the Japanese in Taiwan was 13.34 per 1,000, still far lower than the rate of 20.27 per 1,000 for their brothers in Japan proper[5]. The rate of infant mortality of the Japanese in Taiwan was also comparable to that of most advanced western countries. From this we can see that Japanese in Taiwan were under tremendously favorable circumstances. Their excessive benefits were enjoyed only at the expense of the land in which they lived.

Social change in Taiwan after the restoration in 1945 will help us to understand the character of colonial type of change. Under Japanese rule, manufacturing industry had attained a fair development, but it produced mostly processed agricultural goods or semi-manufactured goods, and finished consumer's goods were mostly imported from Japan. Fertilizer and textiles were two main import items. If the production of 1941 is taken as base, after the restoration, the production of textiles increased ten times and fertilizer increased five times by 1953 (7: p. 26). This is a sign that the economy of Taiwan has outstripped its colonial and dependent character and has become an autonomous system. In respect to education, the enrollment of Taiwanese school age children in primary school had attained 80% by the later years of Japanese occupation, but the secondary and higher education were very poor. After the restoration, if we take the figure of 1937 as a base and compare it with 1953, the growth of the number of students was as follows. Primary school: more than doubled; vocational and normal school: more than three times; middle school: six and an half times; college and junior college: more than eight times; university: more then twenty one times (7: p. 302). In order to rectify the defects of the colonial era, higher education was especially promoted.

The Japanese are no exception to the rule that each nation struggles for its own benefit. Now that the colonial era is at an end, it is our task to analyze the elements of social change in that era. Some useful references for planning of further social development may be drawn from our analysis.

III. SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN

Some aspects of social change which relate directly to population change, will be discussed in the following section.

7. Political Background

It is self-evident that population growth is deeply influenced by peace and war. The Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895 was met with a series of severe revolts. Between 1895 and 1901, the city of Taipei, the capital, was raided twice, the city of Taichung was also raided twice. Other military posts, local governmental offices and posts of military police were raided more than fifty times. A bigger uprising was suppressed in 1902, and after that several years passed in comparative tranquility. An insurrection broke out in 1907, and there were seven revolts between 1907 and 1915. During this period there were frequent uprisings against economic exploitation, as when

Note 5: Tachi, M.: Lecture on Population Problems, Tokio, 1943. p. 201.

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 ADI Formosa ADI

people were forced to sell their land cheaply to sugar corporations. The influence of the revolution lead by Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the mainland was also felt. After 1916, the uprisings were suppressed by a forceful police system. Since 1921 the revolts of the aborigines have been largely mitigated.(5) After the 1920's peace was generally preserved in Taiwan, and the resistance of the people changed gradually from revolt by force to organized political and social movements.

Peoples' attitudes are much influenced by peace and war. Disturbances do not give the people the needed security of life and property. They must keep a cautious and watchful attitude at all times. It is impossible to invest the surplus of their production for the extension of their business. They have to exchange the surplus of production for gold and silver, and bury it under the ground for safety. Direct and immediate self-sustainance was their main daily concern, and the idea of future development was unfamiliar to them. This society is approximataly the same as the "militaristic type of society" defined by Herbert Spencer, and no development can be expected from it. In peace time people need not spend their time and energy defending themselves against thieves and bandits. They can concentrate their strength on their work. They can extend their business and gradually plan for the future. Again, we may use Spencer's definition and classify this state as an "industrial type of society". Once established, its development will be accelerated. In Taiwan, after peace and order were established by the colonial government police system, production was extended, and the population gradually increased.

The various kinds of social change in Taiwan were basically influenced by the colonial policy of Japan. Before World War I the policy was typically colonial. After the war, the spirit of democracy permeated the whole world. In Japan, serious social problems broke out. Democratic and Socialistic movements likewise became widespread. Social movement of the modern type among students and young people broke out in China at about the same time. Under the influence of both China and Japan, political, social, and cultural movements started in Taiwan for the first time around 1920. At first the colonial government tried to suppress them by force, but the current was too strong and the government had to change its policy somewhat. From around 1920, the policy of assimilation was adopted, and there were some improvements in administration. Though the improvement was limited in character, it had a fairly significant effect on Taiwan, and its results were reflected in population data. From 1926 on the system of modern Taiwan was generally molded, and after that date population growth was speeded up.

Japan started her invasion of Manchuria in 1931, intruded in northern China in 1937, and then struck Pearl Harbor in 1941. As the war for expansion was extended, Taiwan was considered a strategic base, and the colonial policy had to change again.

Note 6: Yanaihara, T.: Taiwan under Imperialism. 1929, Tokio, pp. 241-242. Shiomi, T.: "Police System and Economy of Taiwan under Japanese Rule". Quarterly of the Bank of Taiwan. Vol. 5, No. 4, 1953, Taipei, pp. 259-261.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

CHAPTER VI

Public Health and the Risks of Death

657

In the preceding pages, we have given attention to various features of intercourse between Taiwanese and Japanese in Taiwan. Most of the evidence has been in agreement on one point—the policies of Japanese as rulers of the island failed to make any substantial difference in the social structure of its people. The more it seemed to change in some particular, the more it turned out to be essentially the same thing. As a matter of official design many innovations were concentrated in the hands of a favored few. Even when it came to implementing their aims, Japanese found ways to meet the population on its own terms. Much of their success in colonial administration was due to the ability to make the social system serve their purposes without changing its form.

The most significant exception was their effort on behalf of the health of the inhabitants. Japanese have never received full credit for their achievement in this realm, either on the part of the Taiwanese (who resented the intrusions that it involved in their lives) or from Western students of population and public health (who mostly ignored or belittled it). The "benefits" of rationalizing Taiwanese agriculture may be a matter of dispute, for it enormously enriched a few Japanese at the same time that it broadened standards of consumption in the population. The motives of Japanese in introducing to Taiwan some of the advantages of scientific discovery from the outside world may likewise be suspect, for they managed to keep control over most of the fruits of improvement. But there is no doubt that in the field of public health Japanese rule added many years to the expected lifetime of Taiwanese. This, in an environment of opinion that looks with approval upon any postponement of death, deserves to be given adequate attention.

Early Health Conditions in Taiwan

721
166

Prior to 1895, Taiwan was renowned as an unhealthful place to live. It presented special hazards to survival in addition to those which its people had learned to accept in South China. Unusual efforts had been called forth in expanding settlement into the relatively empty area, and these entailed unusual risks of death. Early Chinese migrants to Taiwan had to attend to clearing new lands,

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

721
165

and to contend with many types of hardship not found on the mainland. As they pushed toward the island's foothills, they also suffered the consequences of many bloody incidents of violence that they provoked among aboriginal tribesmen.

164

Even in the lowlands, where activities were comparatively settled and routine, life itself was a very uncertain thing. From their environment people were subjected to attack by several kinds of fatal sickness. Through certain traditional practices they unwittingly exposed themselves to many others. The semi-tropical climate of Taiwan favored the spread of a multitude of disease-producing agents. Accustomed methods of cultivating the land—especially those having to do with the conservation of human wastes as fertilizer—encouraged the transmission of these organisms to humans.[1]

Through conditions such as these, the population harbored many body parasites and other sources of infection. As a result, many people passed their lives chronically enfeebled, and others remained constantly exposed to the onset of illness. Certain types of disease often spread over the island, restrained only by the isolation of many localities and the difficulty of travel. From time to time, some would grow to spectacular epidemics in which thousands perished. Disease even proved to be one of the best defenses that Taiwan had against attack by the troops of Western powers, and delayed the Japanese in taking control of the island.

Plague was the foremost among these epidemic diseases.[2] Taiwan was repeatedly swept by attacks of this illness, with heavy fatalities. An uncontrolled traffic of shipping from the mainland and from elsewhere in Asia, much of it illicit, made it easy to introduce infected rats and persons. Conditions of knowledge and sanitation in Taiwan were wholly inadequate to cope with the problem.[3]

Cholera was the second most important disease that occurred in epidemic proportions. Lacking knowledge or facilities to control the spread of cholera, Taiwanese sometimes suffered the full course of epidemics throughout a whole season without being able to take counter-measures.[4] Cholera also was well known and feared in the

[1] For an able popular account of some of the connections between custom and the "food cycle" that propagates these organisms, see Winfield, G. F. (1948), p. 112 ff.

[2] See Hsü Tze-wei (1936), p. 444.

[3] For some of the futile steps adopted against plague by the people, see Campbell, W. (1915), p. 77.

[4] Drinking water was usually taken from the rivers or from shallow wells, making them easily subject to pollution. See Takekoshi, Y. (1907), p. 285.